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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—There is little material available on the languages, although Zacatula is said to have been "idioma por si,"[29] and in the northeastern prolongation Tepuzteco was spoken by the people of Citlaltomaua and Anecuilco. The inhabitants called themselves Tepuztecas, which meant "people from a place of abundant copper."[30] Other Tepuzteco villages are noted in the section on Tepequacuilco, below. It will be observed that this Tepuzteco is adjacent to the equally unknown Yope. In Tepetiztla and other near-by places, however, a tongue that was not Tepuzteco was spoken.[31] Between the western and eastern extremes of this province there may well have been intrusions of Tarascan and Cuitlatec, presumed to have been spoken along the northwest and northeast, in territory extending as far as the borders of Tepuzteco. (It is reported that there was a region of mingled Cuitlatec and Tepuzteco five leagues west of Citlaltomaua.)[32]

Besides Tepuzteco and Cuitlatec, a mosaic of vanished languages underlay the (pre-Mexican) Nahuatl of the province, according to the "Relación de Zacatula." The data of this relación are presented acceptably on Brand's map.

Of Cuitlatec a few fragments have been preserved, owing to the initiative of P. R. Hendrichs. It is definitely stated that this language was spoken in Axochitlan, and it still survives faintly in the memory

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Coyutla and Piquitla [*PNE*, 1: No. 877]; the latter lay one and one-half leagues from the sea and fourteen from Zacatula, in the mountains of southern Michoacan). Against Çigua are two facts: It lay at the far border of the known towns of the province, and it had only eleven Indians in Xuarez' time. However, the Conquest was severe and it did join colonially important Zacatula and the vast archaeological zone of Melchor Ocampo (*Tlalocan*, 2: 259, notes 3 and 4). Against Çiguatlan de Su Magestad is its even greater distance from the rest of the known province. However, it was obviously an important town, since it was set aside for the Crown, and the colonial province of the Motines de Zacatula, according to the relación, reached nearly to Pómaro, Michoacan. Cihuatanejo itself is of course a fourth possibility, since the *-ejo* ending is Spanish. The whole problem is one which cannot be solved dogmatically at present.

[29] García Icazbalceta, ed., [Primera] *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (1858–1866), 2: 592.

[30] "'Jentes que binieron de algun lugar de muncho hierro' o 'jentes de hierro'" (*PNE*, 6: 158). Cf. glyph of Tepoztlan (Morelos): a copper hatchet.

[31] *PNE*, 6: 158.

[32] In a town called Chiantepec, Cuitlatec territory began, "aunque entre ellos hay pueblos que hablan la misma lengua tepuzteca" (*PNE*, 6: 165).

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[197] of a few old people of Totolapan (San Miguel). According to the "Relación de Citlaltomáua," the area in which Cuitlatec was spoken extended in the southeast as far as vanished Chiantepec,[33] and fragments have been recorded by Weitlaner in coastal Atoyac.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The borders of Çihuatlan are as unclear as its linguistic features. Zacatula must have represented approximately the westerly outpost. Somewhere in the pathless mountains all along the north of Çihuatlan was the border between this province and the [101] Tarascans and Cuitlatec. (The Cuitlatec seem to have been an entity distinct from both their powerful neighbors, Mexican and Tarascan.) A slender link through Otlatlan (modern Otatlán), in the fellow-tributary province of Tepequacuilco, bound Çihuatlan to the Empire, and to the east lay the never-subdued Yopes.[34]

TRIBUTE

651 In the records of tribute presented for this and the following thirty-seven provinces, the frequency of payment is indicated as follows: one asterisk, annual; two asterisks, semiannual. The few quarterly payments ("de ochenta en ochenta días") are noted.

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* page and its copy in the *Mendocino*, the following items of tribute were exacted from the province of Çihuatlan:

CLOTHING**

[291] 1,616 bundles[35] of large orange mantles
2,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth

FOOD**

[245] 80 loads of cacao bermejo

OTHER GOODS**

[248] 400 bundles of cotton
[136] 800 red seashells, like scallops

[33] See the preceding note. On Cuitlatec see Hendrichs, "Un estudio preliminar sobre la lengua cuitlateca de San Miguel Totolapan, Guerrero," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 329–362; Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *ibid.*, pp. 297–328, notes; and McQuown, "La fonémica del cuitlateco," *ibid.* (1941), 5: 239–254.

[34] See section on Tepequacuilco, below.

[35] The *Mendocino* résumé, in Spanish, has been followed throughout this study as a convenient guide on tribute. There are slight inaccuracies in the version it gives of numbers, however; the figures representing single units are consistently overlooked. Here I have corrected the figure from the erroneous "1,600."

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the one we refer to "Totoltepec de Guerrero," but alas! there are two even in Guerrero, the other being an estancia of Ayutla, now called Tutepec."

Yoallan is the conspicuous variant in our list of names. This has become the modern Iguala. In the *Relación de Iguala* of 1579 we read: "Iguala en lengua castellana quiere decir escuridad."[88] "Escuridad" (*oscuridad*) is the meaning of Yoallan, as we see in the glyph of the town: a circle studded with "stellar eyes." The Náhuatl root is *yoalli*, "night."

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Of the people, Sahagún writes that they speak Mexican and are rich.[89] Tlachmalacac is the most northerly town specified to be "en la provincia que se dice Cuixco,"[90] but the Coixcatlalpan—as it was called—must have stretched even farther in that direction, since the Coixca joined Malinalco in an attack upon the Cuauhnahuac [Cuernavaca] after the latter's surrender to Cortés.[91] And to the east it must have extended beyond Tlalcoçauhtitlan in the adjacent province of that name. The latter town again is the last of which it is stated that "esta tierra se llama Coyscatlalpa y la lengua es coysca,"[92] but the people of distant Texaluca in southwest Puebla remembered in 1580 that they had served their Mexican masters by going to war against the "provinçia de Coyxco."[93]

Other towns of our province listed as speaking Cohuixca in the 1580's are Yoallan,[94] Cocolan,[95] Mayanala (14),[96] and Huitzoco.[97] Since

[88] *PNE*, 1: No. 28.
[89] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.
[90] "Estos couixcas y tlapanecas son unos que a uno solo le llaman couixcatl y tlapanécatl, y están poblados en Tepequacuilco y Tlachmalacac, en la provincia de Chilapan, los cuales hablan lengua mexicana, y son ricos" (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 133).
[91] *GPM*, p. 105.
[92] "Los naturales de una población que se dice Cuarnaguacar [*sic*] que eran sujetos á la cuidad y se habian dado por nuestros amigos, vinieron al real y dijeronme cómo los de la poblacion de Marinalco, que eran sus vecinos, les hacian mucho daño, y les destruian su tierra, y que agora se juntaban con los de la provincia de Coisco, ques grande, y querian venir sobre ellos a los matar porque se habian dado por vasallos de V.M. y nuestros amigos" (Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* [1866], p. 235).
[93] *PNE*, 5: 249.
[94] *PNE*, 5: 86.
[95] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.
[96] *GPM*, p. 98.
[97] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 223: "Es lengua casi mexicana que se escrive."
[98] *Ibid.*, p. 224.

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197 Chilapan is given in Sahagún as Cohuixca, and elsewhere as "lengua mexicana ... no tan pulida,"[99] and since the latter source uses the same words for the speech of Zompanco,[100] Zompanco may be classified with the Cohuixca towns.[101]

[114] Ample texts from the Cohuixca are preserved in the seventeenth-century "Tratado de las Supersticiones ... " of Ruíz de Alarcón.

So much for the linguistic situation in the east. The northwesterly towns of the province of Tepequacuilco were mostly Chontal-speaking: the Chontal were the aborigines there,[102] against whom war was still being waged in 1519. These Chontal towns were Alahuiztlan,[103] Ychcateopan,[104] Oztoma,[105] Totoltetec,[106] and—in earlier times, at least—Cueçalan.[107] Further material on these Chontales de Guerrero is given in the section on Tlachco.

Between the Cohuixca and Chontal regions, south of Iguala, tongues called Matlame and Tuxteco were spoken, according to an unpublished map by Paul Kirchoff.[108]

It was in the southwest part of the province that this linguistic complexity reached its peak. Tetela was Cuitlatec in speech.[109] South of Tetela the utterly mysterious and vanished [?] Tepuzteco was spoken in Otlatlan and Tlacotepec.[110]

635 131 632 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The frontier to the west may be rather precisely delimited, since we have evidence from a long chain of frontier towns. Let us examine them from north to south.

Alahuiztlan, in the north, used to send help down to the famous garrison town of Oztoma: food and arms and troops.[111] Alahuiztlan

[99] *PNE*, 5: 176.
[100] *PNE*, 6: 313.
[101] Cf. "lengua casi mexicana," n. 46 above.
[102] *PNE*, 6: 143: "Son los antiguos de la tierra."
[103] *PNE*, 6: 100.
[104] *PNE*, 6: 89.
[105] *PNE*, 6: 106.
[106] *PNE*, 6: 149.
[107] *PNE*, 6: 138.
[108] Cited by Weitlaner, "Chilacachapa y Tetelcingo," *El México Antiguo* (1941), 5: 256. Weitlaner's text also speaks of Texome in this area.
[109] *PNE*, 6: 132. On Cuitlatec, see section on Çihuatlan.
[110] *PNE*, 6: 128 (and p. 123, which remarks that the people of Tlacotepec called themselves "Tepegua"). On Tepuzteco, see section on Çihuatlan.
[111] "Despues que fueron suxetos a Moteçuma y reyes de Mexico tenian la dicha gerra con los de Mechoacan; por mandado de los dichos rreyes de Mexico acudian con bastimentos y armas y ayuda, quando era menester, al fuerte que Motetzuma tenya en Oztuma" (*PNE*, 6: 102).

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one from each household. These mantles were paid locally on each of the eighteen fiestas of the year. Maize for tribute was grown on special lands.[99]

4. Ocuilan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 12 of the *Matricula* and on folio 34' of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Ocuilan, which now forms part of the southern portion of the State of Mexico. Only the *cabecera* is identified in the former document; the latter bears all names added in roman letters. The map which has been followed in restoring the province is the 1:200,000 map of the "Estado de México," Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1927). Original and present place names are listed below:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Coatepec, 3	Coatepec Harinas
Ocuilan, 7	[No change]
Tenantzinco, 6	Tenancingo
Tequaloyan, 5	Tecualoya (Villa Guerrero)
Tonatiuhco, 4	Tonatico

One town remains to be located: Çincozcac.

To this list the two westerly towns of Zoltepec (2) and Temazcaltepec (1) have been added, on the authority of their sixteenth-century relaciones.[100]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Çincozcac is cited by Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 528) as Zicozcatlan, a town figuring in Ahuizotl's Guerrero campaigns.

The proper form *Zoltepec*, from *xollin*, "quail," has been restored with the authority of these relaciones.[101]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Sahagún[102] tells us that "those who are called Ocuiltecos live in the region of Toluca, on their lands and boundaries. They have the same ways and customs of those of Toluca,

[99] *PNE*, 6: 276: "Tributaban al rey de México y generalmente daban mantas de tres braças de largo y una bara de ancho, de algodon, y entre dos tributarios casados un guipil y unas enaguas .... Hazian una sementera grande entre todo el pueblo e lo que della coxian lo juntauan estos governadores y la dauan cada año a Monteçuma, y las mantas dauan de veynte a veynte dias."

[100] "Relación de Soltepec": "heran subjetos a los rreyes de México a los quales tributavan." "Relación de Temazcaltepec": "eran en tiempo de su gentilidad subjetos a un señor de Mexico." *PNE*, 7: 11 and 20.

[101] *PNE*, 7: 101: "por los muchos codornices que ay se nonbraron asi."

[102] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 128.

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but their language is different. They used to practice curses and sorcery very much." The Ocuiltec language is said by Ingeniero Weitlaner, who rediscovered it, to be related to Matlatzinca and Otomí,[**] spoken near by. Although the Ocuiltec language is supposed to be limited today to the village of Ocuilan and its environs, the writer has found a mysterious reference to it in a sixteenth-century document from the north of modern Hidalgo State."

Provincial borders in 1519.—In the final native period the province of Ocuilan, approximating a half-moon resting on its back, was bordered on the northwest by Tuluca, and on the northeast by Quahuacan and the Valley of Mexico. To the east lay Quauhnahuac, and to the south the small province of Malinalco and more sizable Tlachco. Ocuilan thrust out westward into the enemy lands of the Tarascans; Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec are spoken of as situated on the Tarascan frontier.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* and *Mendocino* pages, Ocuilan gave the following tribute:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of richly decorated little mantles of henequen[**]
400 bundles of little cotton mantles decorated with sea shells[**]
400 bundles of little cotton mantles[**]
21 warriors' costumes with shields (one of the headdresses having the *quetzalpatzactli* form, and the rest Huaxteca)[*]

FOOD

4 wooden cribs, 1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian[*]
2,000 vessels of white salt[**]

Tribute of the component towns.—Temazcaltepec alone gave military help (not more than twenty men), two or three bundles of the above-mentioned mantles of henequen, intoxicating mushrooms (*teonacatl*), kindling, and ink made from sap—all this "every time they were asked."[***] No data are available on the tribute of other component towns individually.

[**] Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 297–328.

[**] In Tlachinolticpac, *PNE*, 3: 130.

[***] *PNE*, 7: 20: "Tributavanle cada ves que se lo pedian dos y tres cargas de mantas de nequen, que se haze de un arbol que se llama maguei, y davan ongos con que senbo-

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103 Valle de Bravo (12) and Villa Victoria (13) have likewise been added.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 [114] *Mitepec* is given in the usually reliable *Mendocino* interpretation, but no trace of such a town has been found. On the other hand, "Tlacotepec" (the *Matricula* version) is well known, and appears in the conquest lists of Axayacatl, who took all of this region. Tlacotepec, therefore, has been placed on the map.

Teotenanco retained its name as late as 1582, as we see in the relación of that year.[100] Most of these *teo-* prefixes have been dropped, or supplanted by *huey-*, as remarked above.[101]

Tepemaxalco appears in 1582 as a town a league north of Teotenanco.[102] In the 1921 census it figures as a pueblo of the Municipio de San Antonio la Isla. However, only the latter (as La Isla) is on the 1927 map.

Valle de Bravo has been added from Brand's Tarascan map.

Villa Victoria is likewise added from Brand.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 197 [732 103] *Inhabitants and languages.*—The name of the province (Matlatzinca) and its people (who did not speak Mexican, but an Otomían language) seems to have come from *matlatl*, "net." Sahagún tries out various etymologies[103] and finally decides that "they are called net [people] . . . because when they sacrificed anyone to their idol they threw him into a net, and there twisted and squeezed him in the said net until his intestines came out." The Matlatzinca are sometimes included among the Eight Tribes whom the Culhua Mexica met at the start of their migration. Matlatzinca-speakers were scattered far into Michoacan, where the village of Charo, northeast of Morelia, was still called San Miguel de Charo Matlatzinco in the eighteenth century. Westerly contacts and migrations were continued in the latter part of the fifteenth century, as has been mentioned above. The most southerly point in which the Matlatzinca have been noted by the writer is Cocolan, in the province of Tepequacuilco, where their tongue was spoken jointly with Cohuixco in the 1580's.[104]

[100] *PNE*, 7: 1–7. [101] See p. 23 above. [102] *PNE*, 7: 4. [103] *Op. cit.*, III: 127. [104] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 222.

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the respective names as "Tequepa," "Teacalhu," and "Mimiapan."[8] Since Tecpan was within the province of Quahuacan and lay on the path of conquest between Quauhtitlan and Huitzilapan,[9] it is not difficult to place approximately.[10]

Tlalachco has also disappeared, though it survived in early colonial days as "Talasco"—a pueblo bordering the limits of Toluca[11] and Huitziçilapa.[12] Sr. Jiménez Moreno suggests that it be identified with Atarasquillo.

Tlalatlauhco I have identified with the modern Xalatlaco. Under the name of "Xalatlauhco" it appears in the conquest lists of Axayacatl, just preceding Quappanohuayan and Ocoyacac, both near neighbors, as we see. *Xalli*, "sand," and *tlalli*, "earth," are words that tend to become confused, as is evident in the ancient name form of Tlatelolco, which began as "Xaltelolco."[13]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—In the province of Quahuacan, Otomí[14] and Matlatzinca[15] seem to have been the indigenous tongues of the north and south respectively. Politically, the whole province was old Tepanec territory.

Specifically mentioned among the towns subject to Tlacopan are:

Atlapulco, 11	Cuauximalpan, 7
Capulhuac, 12	Chichicquauhtla, 4
Coatepec, 14	Huizquilocan, 5
Tlalatlauhco, 13	

Provincial borders in 1519.—Quahuacan was surrounded by other Empire provinces—to the north Xocotitlan and Atotonilco, to the east those of the Valley of Mexico, to the south Ocuilan, and to the west Tuluca.

[8] These places are identified by the writer in his forthcoming chronological paper.
[9] Cf. preceding note.
[10] Tecpan is perhaps the original seat of the Tepaneca, who later ruled from Azcapotzalco.
[11] *PNE*, 1: No. 561.
[12] *PNE*, 1: No. 782.
[13] Cf. E. Mengin, ed., *Unos anales históricos de la nación mexicana* (1939); Vargas Rea, ed., *Cédula dada por el emperador Quauhtemotzin ... en 1523* (1943).
[14] *PNE*, 1: No. 782.
[15] Jiménez Moreno and Mendizabal, "Distribucción prehispanica de las lenguas indígenas de México."

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The inhabitants of present-day Xocotitlan and Xiquipilco speak Mazahua and Otomí[30]—a fact in harmony with Ixtlilxochitl's remarks concerning these people at the time of their incorporation into the Empire.[31]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Xocotitlan was a prolongation of the Empire frontier towards Michoacan, exposed to attack from the west and north. East of it lay the province of Quahuacan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Xocotitlan is given as follows:

CLOTHING

400 little mantles of embroidered henequen[32]

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)[33]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xocotitlan (like the other diminutive province of Malinalco) gives us figures—lacking from most of the relaciones—for the tribute derived by the Mexicans from a single town, and these figures suggest that life under Mexican rule was arduous.

9. Atotonilco de Pedraza

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (not to be confused with that of Atotonilco el Grande) occupied with its list of towns the verso side of a lost page of the *Matricula*, as we may ascertain by the copy which forms folio 28' of the *Mendocino*.[34] It consisted of seven pueblos, of which only the cabecera survives with its original name. Despite the plethora of Atotonilcos, we may be sure of the location of this particular town and of its corresponding province because references to one other pueblo listed, Otlazpan, have been found in old documents. The

[30] Soustelle, *La Famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique Central* (1937), *passim*.
[31] He puts them among Otomí, Mazahua, and Matlatzinca peoples. *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 256.
[32] See n. 111, p. 31.
[33] The lost original might be called p. 6B.

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The pueblo of Jagueyes disputed certain pastures with Otlazpan; moreover, from the reference to the dispute it is clear that Tepexic, Huehuetoca, and Otlazpan also had a common boundary at a hill called Hueytepec.[28] The *Codex Mariano Jiménez* also deals in part with the limits between Tepexic and Otlazpan. But whether we should place Otlazpan north or south of the line formed by these three pueblos is uncertain. The evidence is slightly in favor of the south.[29]

Tepexic figures among the towns subject to Tlacopan, in the list we have cited at the opening of this section.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—It would appear[30] that the people of Otlazpan and of its subject towns spoke Otomí and the related Mazahua, whereas the inhabitants of Tepexic spoke Náhuatl. This division was accompanied by an enmity the echoes of which lasted into recent times in the form of a yearly stone-fight between the youths of the two towns at a place called the "Puente de las Guerras."

Provincial borders in 1519.—Many of the towns of this province have not been located, but its outline is known from the boundaries of its neighbors. To the north of Atotonilco de Pedraza lay Xilotepec and Axocopan provinces, to the east Hueypuchtla and Quauhtitlan, to the south Quahuacan, and to the southwest Xocotitlan—all provinces of the Empire.

[28] AGN, Tierras 1201, last document, p. 6, is a document of the Viceroy Martin Enríquez which bears the date May 12, 1576, and reads in part: "hago merced a melchoir muñez de vn sitio destancia para ganado menor entre los terminos de los pueblos de tepexi y utlaspa y huegetoca en vn cerro que llaman los yndios gueytepeque y en lengua castellana cerro grande a la parte del sur en vna barranca que baxa a vna quebrada grande que ba hazia san bernardino suxeto de utlaxpa." Folio 11v calls this hill "ococacaya hueytepec."

[29] Nicolás León (*Codex Mariano Jiménez*, p. 3) gives a list of subject towns of Otlazpan—without any hint of his authority, of course—and names among them Tlautla and San Ildefonso. He also calls Otlazpan "San Juan." This would locate Otlazpan north of Tepexic. But in view of the frequent unreliability of León and his errors and oversights as editor of the *Mariano Jiménez*—he even overlooks the glyph of the town in the codex, fol. 6r, where the alcaldes are drawn with the treasure chest—more faith is probably to be placed in the Ortelius map, on which Otlazpan falls south of Tepexic. In the land dispute with Jagueyes, Otlazpan is called "San Francisco" (AGN, Tierras 1201, Cuaderno 5) and two subject ranchos are named, San Bernardino and El Maguey—undiscoverable, of course. Burial records of San Francisco [*sic*] "Ontlazpan," 1611–1615, are preserved in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois (Indian Linguistics Catalogue, No. 1468).

[30] According to León, *Codex Mariano Jiménez*, p. 3.

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y Fomento ("Valle de México," 1937; scale, 1:100,000). The correspondence of old and modern names appears below:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Cuezcomahuacã, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Quauhtitlan, 2	Cuauhtitlán
Tehuiloyocã, 4	Teoloyucan
Tepoxaco, 1	[No change]
Xiloçinco, 7	Xilotzingo

Two towns remain to be identified: Alhuexoyocã and Xalapan.

On the other hand, we may add two other subject towns to the province: Huehuetoca (5) and Tepotzotlan (3).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuezcomahuacan is said, in a document of 1570, to be subject to Tequizquiac; indeed, to be almost one with it.[a]

Huehuetoca figures in the list of subjects of Tlacopan.

Tehuiloyocan has become Teoloyucan and lies southeast of Huehuetoca. That it is the same pueblo is shown by the 1570 document, which places it "de este dicho pueblo de Güegüetocan una legua."[b]

Tepotzotlan is another of the former Tepanec towns.

Xalapan (not on the map) may possibly be the San Lorenzo Axalpan subject to Quauhtitlan.[c]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The rich and complicated history of the region is preserved in its annals, which cannot be summarized here. (Such a résumé may be found in Barlow's review of Velazquez' edition of *Códice Chimalpopoca*, in the *Hispanic-American Historical Review* [1947], 27: 520–526.) Quauhtitlan, Xiloçinco, and Tepotzotlan figured eventually among the towns of the Tepaneca, however; and the Náhuatl tongue predominated.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Quauhtitlan lay in the heart of the Empire. To the northwest was Atotonilco de Pedraza, to the northeast Hueypuchtla, to the east the lacustrine towns, and to the southwest Quahuacan.

[a] *GPM*, p. 67: "distante de la cabecera cuatrocientos pasos: está esta hacia el sur."
[b] *GPM*, p. 263.
[c] *PNE*, 3: 33, nº 1.

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Tlachco, as we see in the "Descripción de Querétaro."[30] However, it is not really clear that Querétaro is a pre-Hispanic town. The impression given by the relación is that it was founded as a result of the Spanish invasion. And evidence that Querendaro-Tlachco is not the Tlachco of the *Matricula* is found in the same relación, in the list of "mojoneras" lying between Querétaro and Xilotepec. Tlachco, therefore, remains a puzzle.

We may add a few towns to those of the *Matricula*, and establish the western frontier of the province, on the authority of the sixteenth-century relaciones: Atlan (9), Hueichiapan (10), Nopala (8), Titlmilpa (1),[31] and Zimapan (12).[32]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acaxochitla may be found in the Secretaría de Agricultura atlas.

Titlmilpa seems to be the best form for the name which Orozco y Berra transcribes from the same document (in his *Geography*, p. 258) as "Tiltmilpa." Today it is Timilpan.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The province of Xilotepec was populated by the Otomí. One early writer calls them "barbarous compared to the Mexicans," but admits that they are not nomads like their Chichimec neighbors.[33] These "barbarous" people of Xilotepec Province, it should be pointed out, produced the only known codex with an Otomí (instead of a Mexican) text, possibly under the stimulus of

[30] In Primo Feliciano Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), I: 1–48.

[31] The series appears thus in the "Descripción de Querétaro," in Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para ... San Luis Potosí*, I: 13: "hera su mojonera con los de Xilotepec los pueblos siguientes santiago tecuçautla, sanct matheo gueichiapa, sant josepe atla," which have been located. Then follow three towns which have not been identified: "santa maria tleculutl ycatzia san geronimo acagulcingo san lorenço tlechatitla"; and the list ends with "san andres titlmepa," the Timilpan of today. Acagulcingo seems to be better rendered in a document published by Simpson (*Studies in the Administration of the Indians in New Spain*, Ibero-Americana [1934], No. 7, p. 48), where it is given as "San Geronimo Acagualcingo." *ENE*, 14: 119, gives "Acaultzinco."

[32] *PNE*, 6: 3: "en tiempo de su gentilidad obedecian los naturales destos pueblos al señor de Jilotepec ... en cuyo rreconoçimiento le davan de la caça que sacauan."

[33] "La provincia que llaman de Xilotepec, la cual es toda de indios otomis, que son barbaros en respecto de los mexicanos, y asi no tienen tanta policía, y confinan con los chichimecas, que son como alárabes y estan todavia de guerra" (García Icazbalceta, ed., *Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México* [1886–1892], II: 18).

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 131 *Atenco*, now Atengo, is a pueblo of Tezontepec de Aldama on the Agricultura y Fomento map. It is mentioned in a sixteenth-century document as being a league and a half from "Mizquiahuala."[a] The only other Atengo in the area of the former province is a mere barrio of Tepeji del Río, which there is no reason to choose.

Axocopan was a town the name of which underwent a rapid metamorphosis in the sixteenth century, from Axacuba to Ajucuba.[b] It may be accurately located from various references: it was three leagues south of Tecpatepec,[c] two leagues from Atitlaquia,[d] and bordered "Tetebanco" on the east and south.

Temohuayan is missing from the "Millionth Map," but appears as "Temoaya" on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura.

Tezcatepec is presumably the one north of Mizquiyahuala on the Secretaría de Agricultura map. Though this Tezcatepec has not appeared in the early sources examined, and though there is a better-documented modern town of the same name (in the province of Hueypuchtla), it appears that the homonym was called Tezcatepectonco in pre-Hispanic times.

Tezontepec appears among the pueblos subject to Tlacopan in the list we have cited at the opening of this section.

Xochichiuca is gone, but it once stood one league from Axacuba, to which it was subject.[e] The direction is not specified.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The cabecera of Axocopan and the following towns were formerly Tepanec dominions: Mizquiyahuala, Tecpatepec, Tezcatepec, Tezontepec, Tlaahuililpan, and Yzmiquilpan. Both Otomí and Náhuatl were spoken in the province, the latter from Chichimec times, apparently.[f]

[a] *GPM*, p. 185.
[b] *PNE*, 1: No. 1; *GPM*, p. 188.
[c] *PNE*, 6: 36.
[d] *PNE*, 6: 205.
[e] *PNE*, 3: 58; 6: 19.
[f] *PNE*, 6: 15, 32, and 35. On the population of the province by Chichimec settlers, see *PNE*, 6: 14 and 24.

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subject of the sixteenth-century reports, in which it is still called Atucpan.[88] Moreover, the "Relación de ... Meztitlan" gives it as one of the towns against which that state made war.[89]

Itzcuincuitlapilco was one of the former Tepanec towns. It appears in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura.

Tezcatepectonco is the interpretation of the glyph made by the *Mendocino* annotator. It might equally well be read "Tezcatepec." A vanished Tezcatepec[90] is the only town of this name which is geographically admissible.[91] It lay between Hueypuchtla, Axocopan, and Tequixquiac,[92] two long leagues southeast of Axocopan[93] and "dos leguas buenas" north of Hueypuchtla.[94]

Tetlapanaloyan lay "quatro leguas pequenas" to the south of Axocopan[95] and "media legua pequena" to the west of Hueypuchtla.[96] It must therefore be the Tlapanaloyan of today.

Xicalhuacan is stated to be one league north-northeast of Tizayuca.[97]

Xomeyocan lay two leagues east of Hueypuchtla.[98]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The following towns of this province were old Tepanec dominions: Atocpan, Hueypuchtla, Itzcuincuitlapilco, and Tequixquiac. The language of the province was predominantly Otomí, but some Mexican was also spoken there.[99]

Provincial borders in 1519.—On the north, Hueypuchtla was bordered by the republic of Metztitlan, with which Atocpan had war.[100] To the east lay Atotonilco (el Grande), to the southeast Acolhuacan, to the south Quauhtitlan, and to the west Axocopan and the other Atotonilco—all Empire provinces.

[88] *PNE*, 6: 24 and 35.
[89] The relación of this town is given in *PNE*, 6: 31–34.
[90] Cf. another Tezcatepec in Axocopan Province.
[91] *GPM*, p. 188.
[92] *PNE*, 6: 15. See also *PNE*, 3: 70.
[93] *PNE*, 6: 28.
[94] *PNE*, 6: 15.
[95] *PNE*, 6: 28.
[96] *PNE*, 3: 42.
[97] *PNE*, 6: 27.
[98] In Hueypuchtla, for example, "hablan dos idiomas, otomi y mexicana, y la mas general es la otomy" (*PNE*, 6: 28). In Toinacuchtla, "hablan la lengua otomy ... y algunos hablan la lengua *mexicana*" (*PNE*, 6: 24).
[99] "Relación de Mesitlan."

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Ctzicoac, which is also called Xiuhcoac, Tziuhcoac, and Cicoaque, is another difficult problem. Meade[31] would locate it in or near the present Chicontepec; Melgarejo[32] presents considerable evidence that it is the modern Dr. Montes de Oca, formerly called San Isidro. The writer regards the problem as not yet completely solved, and prefers to indicate both possibilities on the map.

Huexotla de Hidalgo, which carried on war with Metztitlan, had Náhua gods and a cacique with a Náhua name. Geographic logic and the wars alluded to would place it within the Empire, though there is no absolute evidence that it was included. As the myopic "Relación de Huexotla" speaks only of the local chief, this town may possibly have been an independent city-state.[33]

Molanco is identified by Melgarejo as a "congregación de 159 habitantes en Izhuatlan de Madero." This seems to have been formed from a pre-Hispanic Tecpan Molanco, four leagues distant"—direction not specified. Tecpan Molanco is probably the *Matricula* pueblo and is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan." A homonym formed an integral part of the señorío of Metztitlan, according to the relación of that town.

Tamapachco, a hybrid Huaxtec-Náhua word, appears in the conquest lists of Tizoc. Since the subjugation of this town is mentioned jointly with the conquest of Miqyetlan (Mictlan), Tamapachco is presumably the modern Temapache. A homonym lying southwest of Aquismon was still called Tamapach in the eighteenth century.[34] We have put the northern frontier in this region at Temapache, though recognizing that Bernal Díaz speaks of a map in Moctezuma's possession which depicted the coast as far as Panuco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—As in the central Balsas basin, the Mexica could not or would not conquer the hot lowlands. The Río Panuco and its tributaries, the Moctezuma and Chicayan, lay outside the Em-

[31] *Op. cit.*, p. 290.
[32] *La provincia de Tuxpan* (1947), pp. 36–42.
[33] *PNE*, 6: 189–192.
[34] Melgarejo, *La provincia de Tuxpan* (1947), pp. 42, 53, and 63, cites AGN, Tierras, Tomo 1691, p. 263.
[35] Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), IV: 273.

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635 pire, in territory governed by the aboriginal Huaxtec. Huaxtec was
648 spoken in the northern part of Ctzicoac Province, and Náhuatl (in
197 recent times, at least) in the south.[16] The Huaxtec people, generally
105 speaking, possessed a high and very old culture, inherited from legendary sea-borne founders.[17] Sahagún gives voluminous data on the Huaxteca, of which we quote a part:

> . . . they wore their hair dyed different colors, some yellow, others red, and others varicolored . . . they all had sharp teeth because they sharpened them on purpose; they wore for ornament gold bracelets on their arms, and half-boots made of feathers on their feet, and jade bracelets on their wrists . . .

together with feather headdresses and fanlike collars. "The defects of the Cuexteca," he adds, "are that their men do not cover their shameful parts with loincloths, though there is a great quantity of clothing among them. . . ."[18]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the south of Ctzicoac lay the inde-
131 pendent principality of Metztitlan, with its old Náhua speech and gods. To the east were Atlan and Tuchpa, Empire provinces acquired at about the same time as Ctzicoac, and to the north an obscure "Chichimec" frontier.

635 *Regional names.*—Ctzicoac lay in the Huaxteca, a region more
103 properly known as "Cuextlan."[19] This region is also called "Tonacatlalpan," "the land of foodstuffs," and "Xochitlalpan," "place of flowers."[20] One rather corrupt document speaks of Ctzicoac as "Tizcohuacalaotl" ("Tzicohuacaloth"?).[21]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula,* Ctzicoac and her subject towns gave this tribute to the Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

291 400 bundles of white mantles with red, blue, and yellow borders**
400 bundles of loincloths**

[16] Jiménez Moreno and Mendizabal, "Distribucción prehispanica de las lenguas indígenas de México."

[17] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 131.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 131–132. Meade (*La Huaxteca: Epoca Antigua* [1942]) gives the best general résumé of the province.

[19] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 130.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

[21] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 196.

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reached to the limits of that of Xonoctla in the adjacent province of Tlatlauhquitepec.[a]

Tenexticpac appears in the Mexican conquest lists as number 78.

Tuchpa is also called Tomilco (? Tochmilco) in some documents in the *Suma de visitas de pueblos* ... (*PNE*, 1: Nos. 449 and 525).

Çihuateopa has been located by Krickeberg (*Los totonaca* [1933], p. 110), who identifies it with Cihuatitlan.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Like Ctzicoac, northern Tuchpa Province belonged to the Huaxteca. The south was different. Papantla was, and still is, a focal point of those who spoke Totonac. The elaborate ruins of that region (El Tajín) are the source of much debate; however, they are clearly linked with Teotihuacán.[b] As noted above, Papantla was first subjected to the Empire by Moctezuma II, whereas Tuchpa was one of the towns long tributary to the Acolhuaque of Texcoco.[c]

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the east of Tuchpa lay the province of Ctzicoac, to the southeast the tiny province of Atlan, and to the south the provinces which cut Tlaxcala off from the sea. Beyond the northern frontier were the unconquered Huaxtec peoples.

Regional names.—The regional names given under the section "Ctzicoac"[2] are equally applicable to Tuchpa. The south, however, formed part of the Totonac country, Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Tuchpa Province was wealthy, especially in textiles. She paid the following to her overlords, according to the *Matricula:*

CLOTHING

400 bundles of black-and-white checked mantles[d]
400 bundles of red and white mantles[d]
400 bundles of loincloths[d]
808 bundles[e] of large white mantles, 4 brazas long[d]

[a] RHE, 1: 487.
[b] Cf. Palacios, *La cultura totonaca* (1941), and the valuable bibliography of García Payón, *Interpretación ... de el Tajín* ... (1943).
[c] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197.
[d] Corrected from 800.

[1] [p. 58.—Analyst] [2] [p. 56.—Analyst]

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Chila and the near-by, vanished Matlatlan we know to have been tributary, from data given by their joint sixteenth-century relación.[a]

Tlapacoyan lies in Puebla. It appears in the official conquest lists of the Mexica along with Itzcuincuitlapilco, Tlatlauhquitepec, and other names of this region. It should not be confused with the Tlapacoyan in Veracruz, northeast of Teziutlan.

Xicotepec was an old cabecera of the Acolhuaque.

Xochiquauhtitlan, a town southeast of Tlapacoyan, Puebla, has been variously designated; its original name, after passing through the sixteenth-century variant of "Suchiguauhtla,"[b] finally became Xochicuatla.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Cuauhchinanco and Xicotepec were important towns of the Acolhuaque, as has been mentioned above. They seem to have been somewhat unfriendly toward the Mexica. In Xicotepec there exists a curious *huehuetl*, triumphantly carved with the symbol of Tenochtitlan transfixed by the spear of conquest.[c] Also, there is a codex of Huachinango, which, if it were studied and published, would provide much information on this region. Since the Acolhua influence was strong, it may be assumed that most of the people of Tlapacoyan spoke Náhuatl. The eastern rim of the province, however, was Totonac—"very dumb indians who don't like to do anything but eat and sleep," according to the severe "Relación de Chila y Matlatlan."[d] The elusive town of Matlatlan probably typified the acculturation of the region under Náhua influence, accepting foreign gods and fiestas, but conserving the Totonac language.[e]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Tlapacoyan was one of the provinces hemming in Tlaxcala, which lay to the south. West of Tlapacoyan was Atotonilco el Grande, east of it Tlatlauhquitepec, and to the north Atlan—all of them Empire provinces.

Regional names.—The eastern edge of Tlapacoyan entered the zone called Totonacapan.

[a] RHE, 1: 481: "tenian ... governador antiguamente puesto por monteçuma."
[b] *ENE*, 8: 159.
[c] Christensen, "El Teponaxtli de Xicotepec," *RMEA* (1939), 3: 179–180.
[d] RHE, 1: 480: "son yndios muy tontos yndinados á solo comer y dormir son de lengua totonaque diferent de la mexicana."
[e] See the *proceso* of the *cuenque* of Matlatlan, in *Procesos contra indios idólatras*, Publ. AGN (1912), 3: 205–215.

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632 *Texontepec* was founded by order of the señor of Texcoco.[76] There is a homonym in the province of Axocopan.

Tlachyahualco appears in a few references as "Santana Tlachahualco," subject to Tepexpa. These are not adequate for locating it.[77]

Tlaquilpan appears on the Hidalgo map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento Atlas.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

648 635 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Acolhuacan Province was the heart of the late Chichimec Empire, one of the elements out of which the Triple Alliance was formed. As a consequence, virtually all the towns of the province were subject to Texcoco until the decline of that city-state, when some passed to Mexico. Memory of this change in ownership was preserved in such northern pueblos as Cempoala, Tlaquilpa, Pachuca, and Temazcalapa in the 1580's, as well as in Tezontepec, México.[78]

197 We also have some data on the shifting linguistic picture through the centuries. The obscure Chichimeca language spoken under the first lords of Acolhuacan was abandoned in favor of Náhuatl and Otomí, though it did not die out altogether.[79] The Náhuatl of Texcoco was considered the touchstone of elegance in the period of the European invasion.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—All along the eastern frontier of the 131 province of Acolhuacan lay independent Tlaxcala, a former ally which had become an enemy. The western and northern boundaries of Tlaxcala are drawn roughly on our map. The other neighbors were all Empire provinces: Atotonilco el Grande to the north, Hueypuchtla and the lacustrine provinces to the west, and Chalco to the south.

[76] RHE, 1: 152.
[77] *PNE*, 3: 44, n.; 6: 209.
[78] Cf. n. 82 below.
[79] The "Relación de Epaçoyuca" says that "los primeros fundadores de este pueblo hablauan lengua chichimeca porque su generacion eran chichimecos y despues hablaron sus hijos la lengua mexicana y hablan en general la lengua mexicana aunque ay algunos otomites advenedizos que hablan su lengua otomita y ay algunos chichimecos que hablan la lengua chichimeca" (RHE, 1: 141). The relación of Tetlyztaca observes: "la lengua es otomite advenediços de poco aca se fundaron por mandado del señor de texcuco muy pocos hablan la lengua mexicana" (RHE, 1: 152). On the supplanting of Chichimeca by Náhuatl, see Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), *passim*.

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635 Three others remain to be found: Malinaltepec, Tecmilco, and
103 Xocoyoltepec.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Chalco* itself is the first problem, for the same name appears on a pre-
[114] liminary leaf which is included in the *Mendocino* copy but must have been lost from the *Matricula*. There were really four Chalcos, and the writer has chosen to identify that on page 19 of the *Matricula* with Chalco-Tlalmanalco, rather than with Chalco-Atenco. (See p. 128, where Chalco-Atenco figures in the Çitlaltepec tribute zone.)

Malinaltepec is mentioned in the chronicles of Chalco as a near-by place seized by Moteczuma II in 1508 or 1509.[4]

Tecmilco is not identifiable as a town, but I am informed by Sr. Ezequiel Linares, of Tepoztlán, Morelos, that the name lingers as that of a plain, south of Tepoztlán.

Tepuztlan also appears twice in the codices discussed. Here we probably deal with the well-known town near Cuernavaca; the homonym is dealt with under Huaxtepec (23). This decision is based in part on the existence of the place name Tecmilco south of Tepoztlán, Morelos.

Xocoyoltepec appears in the Chalcan annals as belonging especially to Axayacatl of Mexico Tenochtitlan in 1480: it was near Amaquemecan (Amecameca) and in 1606 was given to the people of San Miguel.[5]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Chalca formed one of the tradition-
● 197 ally Náhuatl-speaking tribes supposed to have been companions during the migration period. They were closely related to the Xochimilca, whose territory they adjoined. Until a very late period they challenged Mexican power in the Valley.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Chalco (-Tlalmanalco)
131 faced eastward on Tlaxcala, the great volcano forming a natural

[4] *Anales de ... Chimalpahin*, pp. 178 and 180.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 16 and 144.
[6] Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 11: "la generacion Chalca ... se juntó con el de Xuchimilco y partió terminos con él quieta y pacíficamente: tomó por cabeçera y principal asiento á Tlalmanalco, y de allí se dividieron ... á saber: Amecamecan, Tenango con todos los Quaxuclipas, Ayotzinco, Chalco Atenco, San Martin ... lo qual es mucho menos que lo que Xuchimilco ocupó por ser mucha mas gente la de aquel tribu que la deste otro."

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635 We know from a list of towns in this province which paid tribute
103 to Texcoco that the following towns, in addition to those given in the *Matricula,* were likewise pre-Hispanic subjects: Atlpoyecan (8), Maçatepec (10), Tlaquiltenanco (13), and Cacatepec (12).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atlpoyecan* is clearly Alpuyeca.

Amacoztitla is almost surely the modern Amacuzac. A parallel truncation has occurred in the name Acamilyxtlahuacan (Acamixtla) in adjacent Tlachco Province.

Chimalco, the *Mendocino* version, is corrected to read "Panchimalco," since the glyph clearly shows a banner (*pantli*) and a shield (*chimalli*); the *Matricula* also bears the correct annotation. Moreover, there exists a town of Panchimalco today, and none called Chimalco.

Molotla is said, in a mid-sixteenth-century source,[8] to be a subject of Xiuhtepec.

[712] *Quauhnahuac.* That Quauhnahuac was the big Mexican garrison of the region is evident from Bernal Díaz, who speaks of it as "muy mejor y mayor" than Yauhtepec.[9] After its surrender the caciques asked his pardon for not having given in earlier, because the Mexicans had ordered resistance and augmented their garrison.[10]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Of the inhabitants, to whom the name
197 Tlalhuica is applied, Sahagún writes: "These tlalhuica are those who are settled in the hot country, and they are náhuas, of Mexican speech; in their land much cotton is produced, and aji, and all other foodstuffs."[11]

181 He goes on to say that Tlalhuicatl means "incapable, unable"—a typical bit of native arrogance—and that their defects are that "they go around too much dressed-up, and carrying flowers in their hands"

[8] *Códices indígenas* (1933), Codices 12 and 13.

[9] "Avia dentro en el mucha gente de guerra, ansi de mexicanos como de los naturales" (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40).

[10] "[El] Señor de Mexico les enbio a mandar que pues estavan en fortaleza que desde alli nos diesen guerra e que les enbio vn buen esquadron de mexicanos para que les ayudasen" (*ibid.,* p. 41).

[11] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 132.

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632 *Tetela [del Volcán]* has been placed in this province because of its linkage with Hueyapan (*q.v.*).

Tepoztlan is probably not the "Ciudad" northeast of Cuernavaca, which seems to figure in the province of Chalco. It may be a pueblo subject to Ahuacuozingo, Morelos.

Xochimilcaçinco (see Ahuehuepan, above).

Yacapichtla is a name already corrupt in native days. "Xihuitz acapitzalan" was the original form.[30]

Çonpanco may possibly be Zompahuacan, southeast of Tecpaçinco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The northern quarter of this province
● 197 of Huaxtepec was part of the former domain of the Xochimilca, a tribe which peopled the regions south and west of the volcano. Towns definitely stated to have belonged to the Xochimilca of this region are Totolapan, Tlayacapan,[31] and Yacapichtla.[32] It will be noted also that a town called "Xochimilcaçinco" lies in the north-central part of this province.

West and south of the Xochimilca were the towns of another Náhua tribe—the Tlalhuica, who inhabited the territory from Huaxtepec to Quauhnahuac.[33]

The Xochimilca were Náhuatl speakers,[34] and so were the Tlalhuica.[35]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west of Huaxtepec lay the fellow
131 province of Quauhnahuac. North of it was the Mexicanized province of Chalco, once an independent state. To the east were Tlaxcala and the Empire province of Tepeyacac, extending from south of Popocatepetl to south of the other great mountain, Citlaltepetl or Orizaba. In the southeast, a miserably documented region, the province of Quiauhteopan must have formed the border.

[30] RHE, 1: 221: "es notorio esta villa de acapiztla se llama asi porque antiguamente se llamaba xihuitza capitzala porque los senores que la gobernaban trayan unos chalchiuites atravesados en las nariçes y que eso queria decir y como agora está la lengua corruta se dize y le llaman ayacapiztla." The *Matricula* and *Mendocino* inscriptions indicate that the corruption is ancient.

[31] Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 10.

[32] RHE, 1: 225: "los que poblaron á esta villa heran como está dicho de xuchimillco."

[33] See pp. 76–77.

[34] RHE, 1: 225: The people of Yacapichtla spoke "la lengua ... de Suchimillco que aunque es mexicano difieren en algunos bocablos en ser mas cortesano e mas cortes."

[35] See pp. 76–77.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—According to the Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map, Tlalcoçauhtitlan embraced a diversity of languages. Apart from the predominant Náhuatl, areas of Tlapanec, Matlame, and the unclassified Tuxteca are noted. The province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan was brought into the Empire by Nezahualcoyotl, who placed a governor over it.[**]

Provincial borders in 1519.—West of Tlalcoçauhtitlan lay the province of Tepequacuilco; east of it Quiauhteopan, and to the north Quauhnahuac and Huaxtepec. These were Empire provinces. On the south, however, it gave on obscure and bellicose Yopitzinco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The yellow earth which gave its name to the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan naturally figured in its tribute, which was as follows:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of large mantles[**]
1 warrior's costume with shield[*]

FOOD

100 pots of bee honey[**]

OTHER GOODS

20 dishes of *tecoçahuitl*, "ques un barnyz amarillo con que se enbixavan"[***]

[*] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 198: Nezahualcoyotl "... fué sobre la [provincia] de Tlauhcocauhtitlan y la ganó, en donde puso por su mayordomo á Huitziltecuh, en donde se le daban de tributo y reconocimiento en cada un año diez y seis bateas de color y veinte cargas de copal, doscientas sesenta y ocho jícaras y tecomates finos, y veinte cargas de varas de tlacuilol quahuitle." The last item is clarified by Sahagún (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 222): "Hay unos árboles silvestres que se llaman tacuiloquauitl, que quiere decir que tiene madera pintada, porque ellos son bermejos, y tienen las vetas negras que parecen pinturas sobre el bermejo; es árbol muy preciado, porque de él se hacen teponaztles, tamboriles y vihuelas, y suenan mucho estos instrumentos cuando son de esta madera; y por ser muy pintada y de buen parecer es muy preciada."

[**] Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 315) includes among the tribute from the Huaxteca "betun amarillo que llaman Tecuezalin y tecozahuitl con que untan y tiñen jícaras, y ablandan manos y piés."

[***] Editorial note (C. O. Sauer): This Náhua word may possibly also signify the yellowish lacquer base, prepared from Coccus insects. The intermediate slopes between the volcanic highlands and the Balsas lowland were and are the chief source of this substance, prized in the aboriginal crafts of central and southern Mexico.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map indicates great linguistic complexity for this province: Náhuatl, Mixtec, Tlapanec, and Matlame.

Olinalan, celebrated for its lacquer-work, probably carried on that activity in pre-Hispanic times. From adjacent Tlalcoçauhtitlan Province, perhaps only a few kilometers away, "bateas" went as tribute to Texcoco.[a]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Because half the towns of the province cannot be identified on the maps of unexplored Guerrero, the north of this province is a great blank. It bordered, probably, on Huaxtepec Province in that direction, as on the west with Tlalcoçauhtitlan, on the east with Yoaltepec, and on the south with Tlapan, all of them fellow tributaries.

Regional names.—Somewhere in the dubious northeast began the region known as Totollan.[a]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Quiauhteopan was a rich mining region, as is shown by the following list of its tribute to the highlands:

CLOTHING

400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 jars of bee honey*

OTHER GOODS

40 large copper bells**
80 copper axeheads**
1 dish of little turquoises*

Tribute of the component towns.—Olinalan, in the mid-sixteenth century, rendered a sizable quarterly tribute of base gold, cacao, money resulting from the sale of cacao, and sixty little jars of honey (over

[a] See the section on Tlalcoçauhtitlan, above.

[a] *PNE*, 5: 57: "Piaztla ... está en la provincia de los Totoltecas de lengua mexicana diferente de los de la Misteca sujetos a la dotrina de la cabacera de Acatlan." Of the same town, it is said farther on (5: 77): "En este pueblo se habla la lengua mexicana corruta, porque es de la provincia de Totola."

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103 An unpublished relación adds Xoxopanco (a) and Tzotzocolco (b). The following towns have been added on the basis of other information: Acatlan (10), Tlacululа (11), and Xilotepec (12).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

[3] *Acatlan* was a Mexican garrison town.[1]

[12] *Atenco* is probably "Atempan," which was a "cabecera por si en la corona" in the sixteenth century[2] and which may be found today on the Puebla map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento atlas.

Teotlalpan may be identified with modern Hueytlalpan, the *teo>huey* change having been noted elsewhere.[4]

Tlacululа (also called Hueycalli) "fue subjeto y tributaua a Montezuma."[5] It seems to have been a major pre-Mexican center.[6]

[31] *Tzotzocolco* lay north of "Güeytlalpan," near Xocopanco.

Xilotepec is cited as a tributary in the note to Tlacululа, above.

[31] *Xoxopanco* lay five leagues north of "Gueytlalpan" and east of Zacatlan, according to an unpublished relación.

Yaunahuac appears on the Puebla map of 1908.

Yayauquitlalpa was an estancia of Tlatlauhquitepec.[7]

Ytztepec appears as "Ixtepec" on the 1908 map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

Yxcoyamec is mentioned as "Yxcuyomec," an estancia of Tlatlauhquitepec, in the mid-sixteenth century.[8]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 197 *Inhçbitants and languages.*—Tlatlauhquitepec was a conquest of the Acolhuaque of Texcoco;[9] its speech was chiefly Totonac and Náhuatl.

[1] *PNE*, 5: 113.

[2] *GPM*, p. 9; *ENE*, 14: 79.

[4] Cf. p. 23 above. In the present case, the *visita* of Diego Ramírez gives us a link, if any be really needed. In July, 1552, he is visiting Tlatlacotepeque [*sic*] and Gueytlalpa, "belonging to His Majesty" (*ENE*, 6: 174). A month later he sets the tribute of Teutlalpa to His Majesty and goes on to Tlatlacotepec (*ENE*, 8: 153). Further references to the town may be found in *Procesos contra indios idólatras*, Publ. AGN (1912), 3: 205–215.

[5] *PNE*, 5: 108.

[6] *PNE*, 5: 106: Xilotepec " ... rreconoçian con sus tributos al pueblo de Tlacululа y despues a Monteçuma: tributaban maiz, gallinas, liquidambar." *PNE*, 5: 110: Quaquauzintlan "eran de Tlacululа y despues fueron de Montezuma."

[7] *PNE*, 1: No. 522.

[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 522.

[9] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320.

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

692 [712] *Quauhtochco* figures among the garrison towns on folio 17ᵛ of the *Mendocino* (see p. 128, n. 1), though no governor is mentioned.

[175] *Tuchçonco,* though shown in the *Matricula* as a pre-Hispanic town, seems to have been resettled in the sixteenth century. There are various documents concerning this resettlement, now kept in the Archivo General de la Nación, in Mexico City.[28]

Teuhçoltzapotlan was a doubtful name even to the *Mendocino* commentator.[29]

Ytzteyocan, like Tuchçonco, was subject to Cuescomatepec from the sixteenth century on.[30] It was later called San Nicolas Tolentino, then San Nicolas del Gentil, and, finally, Juventino Rosas.[31]

Ytzteyocan figures on folio 17ᵛ of the *Mendocino,* among the garrison towns (see p. 128, n. 1), although no mention is made of a governor or governors.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The troops of Texcoco brought Quauhtochco itself into the Empire.[32] After various uprisings in the fifteenth century, it was finally so well assimilated that it remained faithful to Moctezuma in the Spanish Conquest.[33] Náhuatl was the native tongue; what preceded it is doubtful.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west of Quauhtochco was Tlaxcala; to the east the sea, from which Quauhtochco barred that dwindling state. Two Empire provinces lay to the north and south: Tlatlauhquitepec and Cuetlaxtlan.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Quauhtochco consisted of a narrow range of items:

CLOTHING

[791] 400 large mantles**

[28] E.g., AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36 and 40: 170ᵛ, speaks of "tuçongo, subjeto al [pueblo] de san juᵃ cuescomatepeque de la jurisdizion de guatusco." Dominguez (*Coscomatepec de Bravo: I* [1943], p. 42) publishes the earlier document.

[29] He first wrote "çolan" and then rubbed it out.

[30] AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36, calls it "ysteyuca," and the same ramo, 18: 305ᵛ, "ystoyuca."

[31] Dominguez, *Coscomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), pp. 17 and 56.

[32] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.

[33] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), pp. 260–261.

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632 *Teoçiocan* is called "Teocinyocan" by another native source.[24] It is perhaps an estancia of Zongolica (a), "en tierra fria," called San Juan de Teoyxuacan, two leagues from the cabecera.[25]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Cuetlaxtlan, we are told by a Texcocan chronicler, was conquered by that power,[26] a statement confirmed by the "Relación de Cempoalla."[27] The pre-Hispanic language was Náhuatl.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Cuetlaxtlan lay between Quauhtochco and Tochtepec, which were on the northwest and on the southeast respectively. Northeastward was the sea, and to the southwest was a doubtful region embracing at least one free city-state of the Mazateca.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Cuetlaxtlan, in contrast with that of adjacent Quauhtochco, was variegated:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 women's blouses and skirts**
400 small mantles, borders black and white**
400 half-quilted mantles**
400 mantles of 4 brazas each**
400 large white mantles, 4 brazas each**
160 very rich mantles for lords and caciques**
1,200 black-and-white striped mantles**
[714] 2 warriors' costumes with shields*
[317] 1 string of chalchiuites*
[237] 400 bunches of quetzal feathers*
[301] 2 lip plugs of crystal, with blue and gold mountings*
20 lip plugs, light amber, mounted in gold*
1 hair adornment of quetzal feathers*

FOOD

[262] 200 loads of cacao*

Cuetlaxtlan paid cacao and cotton mantles, both white and decorated.[28]

[24] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1538), IV: 134.
[25] *PNE*, 5: 230.
[26] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.
[27] RHE, 1: 131.
[28] *PNE*, 5: 9: "tributavanle cacao y mantas de algodón blancas e pintadas."

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It appears in the Mo-
632 tricula, which is the criterion of the present work, and the sixteenth-
648 century relación says clearly enough that "este señor rreconoçia a
[175] Moteçuma,"[29] but Cortés himself, in his letters, explains that it was not subject to the Empire, and copies a message from his captains there who held out during the Spanish flight from the capital. These write that they were daily at war, during this period, with the Tochtepec garrison.[30] A less reliable document also claims independence for the Chinantec.[31] Presumably they were in reality subject, but precariously so, to Moctezuma.

632 *Puctlan.* There were two pre-Conquest Puctlans in this province.
131 One, in the highlands of Oaxaca (no. 5), still exists as Putla, southwest of Tlaxiaco. The other (a) lay among the lagoons of the Río Alvarado, three leagues from Yxmatlahuacan,[32] three from Acula, and four from an unlocated Tlatlayan.[33]

632 *Tochtepec* was a Mexican garrison town, as the letters of Cortés
712 show.[34] The "Relación de Chinantla" tells how judicial matters were forwarded to Moctezuma's garrison there.[35]

632 *Tototepec* may be the "Tepetotutla" on Bevan's map.
131 *Yxmatlatlan* appears as Yxmatlahuacan, three leagues from Puctla (*q.v.*).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Tochtepec was reduced by the armies of
197 Texcoco, as they pushed down the coast.[36] The chief language of the

[28] *PNE*, 4: 60.

[29] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), p. 204: " ... a la primera vez que ... vine, provei, como en la otra relacion hice saber a V.M. que en dos o tres otras provincias ... se hiciesen para V.M. ciertas casas de granjerias ... e á una dellas que se dice Chinanta, envié para ello dos españoles; y esta provincia no es sujeta á los naturales de Culua." The message he wrote goes on to say, "con los de Tuxtepec ... cada dia tenemos ... guerra."

[30] In García Icazbalceta, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (1858–1866), II: 592: "Chinanta es provincia por sí, pequeña, en sierras; no obedecia á México, y en esta hay pueblos cada uno sobre sí, de diferentes lenguas: á veces son amigos unos de otros, á veces no."

[31] See Yxmatlatlan, below.

[32] *PNE*, 5: 236: "Tiene este partido otro pueblo que se dize Puctla questa metida en las lagunas del rrio de Albarado, tres leguas a la parte del poniente." It is also mentioned in *ENE*, 14: 87, and in n. 40 below.

[33] *Op. cit.*, p. 204.

[34] "E las cosas supremas, como hazer justiçia de algun principal e quitar la vida alguno, lo comunicavan con los yndios mexicanos que rresidian en el pueblo de Tuchtepeque, donde Moteçuma tenia una guarnicion de gente muy grande donde rrecojian los tributos de todos los pueblos desta tierra." (*PNE*, 4: 62).

[35] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197–198: "Conquistadas estas provincias que pertenecian al patrimonio del rey de Tezcoco, pasó de allí con su ejército costeando

½ [i.e., Chinantlan — Analyst]

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province was Náhuatl, but along the southwest both Chinantec and Mazatec were spoken.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tochtepec Province lay Cuetlaxtlan and its fortress; to the southwest was the doubtful zone of the independent Mazatec. Southward, Coayxtlahuacan and Coyolapan provided another strong link with the Empire, but somewhere along the southeast the province of Tochtepec gave on enemy regions, through which a thin line of fortresses must have led to Xoconochco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The wealth of Tochtepec was phenomenal. Of the several lists of tribute which we have, the *Matricula* shows the following items:

CLOTHING

1,600 rich mantles, of the kind the lords and caciques wore**
800 red-and-white striped mantles**
400 women's blouses and skirts**
1 warrior's costume and shield, with a birdlike standard*
1 gold shield*
1 feather standard like a bird's wing—yellow feathers*
1 gold diadem*
1 gold headband, a hand's width and thick as vellum*
2 strings of gold beads*
3 large chalchiuites*
4 strings of chalchiuites*
20 lip plugs of light amber mounted in gold*
20 lip plugs of crystal with blue smalt and gold setting*

FOOD

20 loads of cacao

la mar del Norte hasta otra provincia que se dice Teochtepec [*sic*] que asimismo la ganó y sojuzgó, y puso en ella por su mayordomo y cobrador de tributos (de más de la gente de guarnición que en cada una de ellas dejaba) á Toyectzin, que cobraba en cada un año cuarenta fardos de mantas ricas y viente de unas camisetas asimismo ricamente tejidas de finos colores, que montan ciento y viente piezas: igualmente le sembraban y cultivaban en cada un año una sementera de cacao, que tenía de longitud cuatrocientas medidas y de latitud doscientas, sin más treinta y tres cargas de cacao que se cobraban de tributo, dos mil pelotas de hule y cuatrocientos paños de grana, sin más muchas piezas de plumería, como eran rodelas, penachos y otras divisas que los reyes usaban cuando salían a las guerras, hechas de la plumería rica que llaman quetzali. Esta provincia contenía doce pueblos, asimismo sujetos, y daban de tributo cierta cantidad de amas y criadas para el servicio de palacio."

* Contributed by Ucila. See Tribute of the Component Towns, below.
** Also from Ucila.

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 712 *Xoconochco* has now become Soconusco San Benito.[a] It appears as one of the garrison towns (*Mendocino*, fol. 18') with two governors, named "2. Quauhtli Tezcacouacatl" and "Atzin Tlilancalqui," according to their glyphs (cf. chap. viii, no. 37).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Mayence language Mame and Náhuatl were the native languages of Xoconochco Province.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Xoconochco was one of the terminals of the Empire, and doubtless warred constantly on the east and west. The links which bound Xoconochco Province to the Empire and to remote Tochtepec are not clearly known, but it seems likely that they consisted in isolated fortresses.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Xoconochco Province comprised the following:

CLOTHING[**]

[30] 2 lip plugs of light amber, gold setting
2 long strings of chalchiuites

FOOD[**]

[262] 200 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS[**]

[237] 1,400 bunches of feathers, blue, red, and green
160 whole skins of birds[b]
800 handfuls of yellow parrot feathers
800 handfuls of quetzal feathers
[415] 40 ocelot skins
800 rich tecomates for drinking cacao
[31] 2 brick-sized chunks of clear amber

632 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Xoconochco gave, in the early colonial period, three annual tributes of goldpieces, each tribute being comprised of eight gold disks worth twenty-five pesos apiece.[c]

[a] Nuttall, "Chalchihuitl in Ancient Mexico," *American Anthropologist* (1901), 3: 232.
[b] Cooper Clark, ed., *Códice Mendocino* (1938), 1: 81 [illegible] as *Cotinga amabilis* Gould.
[c] *PNE*, 1: No. 501: "Dan tres tributos cada ano y en cada vno ocho tejuelos de oro de a veynte e çinco pesos cada vno, de nueue quilates: pagando en tostones al Respeto."

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VII. THE MIXTEC-ZAPOTEC ZONE

IN EACH of the provinces of the vast zone we are about to consider, the cultural and linguistic groups known as Mixtec and Zapotec have flourished. There is some indication that in an earlier period the Mixtec extended beyond these provinces;[1] in any case, they and the Zapotec together provide a convenient denomination for the area, much of which fronted on still "unreconstructed" Mixtec city-states. Other cultures and languages there were, in bewildering abundance, within the same frontiers—Tlapanec, Mazatec, Cuicatec and so forth,—but the Mixtec and the Zapotec appear to have been the most advanced of all, and certainly were the best known to later times.

31. TEPEACAC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Tepeacac was a great bastion, which long resisted the imperialism of the Mexica and later, when the Spaniards came, proved to be the key to the eastern plateau. This cabecera, together with twenty-three principal towns, is represented on page 20 of the *Matricula*, copied on folio 42' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The province extended across the center of southern Puebla. Its towns have been located principally on the 1908 Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora. Original name forms are compared with those of today in the following list:

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Acatzinco, 15	[No change]
Coatzinco, 9	Coatzingo
Chietlan, 5	Chietla
Epatlan, 7	[No change]
Huehuetlā, 4	Huehuetlan
Nacochtlan, 8	Necoxtla
Quatlatlauhcā, 10	Huatlatlauca
Quauhquechulan, 1	Huaquechula
Quauhtinchan, 12	Cuautinchan
Quechulac, 17	Quecholac
Tecalco, 13	Tecali
Tecamachalco	[No change]
Teonochtitlā, 2	

[1] E.g., east to Cōtzamaloapan and northwest to the skirts of Popocatepetl. Jiménez Moreno, "El enigma de los olmecas," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 5, N° 5 (1942), pp. 124–125.

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MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Teopantlan, 3	[No change]
Tepeacac, 14	Tepeaca
Tepemaxalco, 18	
Tepexic, 11	Tepexi
Tetenanco, 16	
Ytzucan, 6	Matamoros Izúcar

Four towns elude identification: Atezcahuacā, Chilteepintlā, Oztotlapechco, and Yeçochinanco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Náhuatl and Otomí were the principal languages of this province, though Chocho-Popoloca was spoken in Tecamachalco, Quecholac,[2] and Quauhtinchan.[3] Mixtec, in turn, was spoken by groups coming up from the south, some of which arrived in late times, during political upsets in Coayxtlahuacan.[4] 197

Provincial borders in 1519.—North of Tepeacac Province lay Tlaxcala, with whom it skirmished continually. Its boundaries in the other three directions were less insecure, as it was bordered by the Empire provinces of Huaxtepec on the west, Cuauhtochco on the east, and Yoaltepec on the south. In the last-named direction the frontiers have been placed south of Yzucar and Tepexic, and north of Acatlan and Piaztla. This choice is rather arbitrary, but in the 1580's Acatlan and Piaztla remembered former wars with the two towns depicted on the *Matricula* page,[5] hence may finally have been integrated into another province in the interests of peace. 635 131 [648]

Regional names.—Certain towns are listed in the relaciones of the 1580's as belonging to the Coatlalpan, a name which likewise appears in this zone on the Ortelius map of 1579. These towns are Epatlan,[6] 635 175

[2] *PNE*, 5: 20: "en lo que toca a las lenguas, la general desta çiudad y pueblos de su probincia hablan la lengua ... mexicana ... eçeto que los pueblos de Tecamachalco y Cachulac comunmente [hablan] otra lengua tosca llamada popolucan eçeto que toda la gente noble hablan poco o mucho la mexicana; ansi mysmo ay ynterpolados algunos naturales que hablan otra lengua que llaman otomy, que esta, fuera de la mexicana, es la más natural en este reyno por haber muchos pueblos della."

[3] See the opening lines of Preuss and Mengin, *Die mexicanische Bilderhandschrift Historia Toltece-Chichimeca* (1937).

[4] *Ibid.*, vss. 322–324.

[5] *PNE*, 5: 60, 79.

[6] *PNE*, 1: No. 248.

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(subject to Tlaxiaco)[99] and three leagues from "Cilacayoapan."[100] With all this information, the town may be placed fairly well. In the present map it is identified tentatively with Montañas, a town on the Oaxaca map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.[101] This lies south of Silacayoapam and may have fallen under the jurisdiction of south-lying Cuauhuitlan.[102]

Ychcastoyac, which has not been found, is also called "Atojocinapa" in a list which names its encomendero as "el hijo de Pierres Gómez."[103]

Yoaltepec has been located from references only. When the Mexicans invaded the south, they took, in succession, the towns of Oaxtepec, Izucar, and Youaltepec.[104] "Ygualtepec" (the name suffered the same change as Yoallan–Iguala) was held by the encomendero of Ayoxochiquilazala.[105] The clearest reference, however, comes from a document dealing with Piaztla, which places Yoaltepec ten leagues straight south of that town.[106]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—With Yoaltepec we enter the Mixtec provinces. A codex in purely Mixtec style, for example, is preserved from Tecomaixtlahuacan,[107] and the relación of that town[108] tells us it is of Mixtec speech, as proves to be true of Ycpatepec.[109] The northern part of the province, on the other hand, seems to have been mexicano rustico, "because it is the province of Totolan"—a quite mysterious reference.[110]

[99] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 142–143.
[100] *GPM*, p. 20; *PNE*, 5: 238.
[101] Ycpatepec was celebratedly mountainous.
[102] Three hints which may lead to its exact identification at a later time are: (*a*) the linking of "Hycpatepeque" with Tlacotepec, Tepexillo, and Los Remedios in a list of "Curatos Mixtecos" of the reign of Philip V (Bancroft Library, University of California, Mex. MS No. 8, fol. 221); (*b*) the Mixtec name, "yucu yua" ("Relación of Cuahuitlan," *PNE*, 4: 158) or "yucu nuuyuh" (Reyes, *Arte en lengua mixteca* [1889], p. 90); and, finally (*c*), the names of the estancias of Ycpatepec (*PNE*, 5: 238), which are Santa María, Santiago, and San Juan. (*PNE*, 4: 155, adds San Pablo.)
[103] *ENE*, 9: 17.
[104] Discussed in the writer's forthcoming chronological study.
[105] I.e., García de Aguilar. See *GPM*, p. 157.
[106] *PNE*, 5: 77: "al sur tiene al pueblo de Ygualtepec questa desta cabeçera dies leguas, toda tierra entre doblada y llana y caminos derechos." In the same document Acatlan is placed at five leagues from Piaztla.
[107] Published in Schmieder, *The Settlements of the Tzapotec and Mije Indians*, Univ. Calif. Publ. Geog., Vol. 4 (1930), Appendix I.
[108] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 136.
[109] *PNE*, 4: 158.
[110] *PNE*, 5: 78.

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Copalitech, called "Copalitas" in the sixteenth century, was considered a seaboard town and thus anciently subject to Ayutla (*q.v.*).[88] 632

Huitzannola is called "Huitzaxola" elsewhere and is said to be an estancia of [A]cuitlapan.[89]

Tototepec, one of many towns of this name, is not on available maps, but may be located by references. Xochitonala,[90] which must be the Tonalá of today, was "de Ayutla tres leguas y otras tres de Tututepeque."[91] The same source notes: "La estancia de Tututepeque esta tres leguas de la mar." The inhabitants of Tototepec are said to be "mexicanos que quedaron alli por guarniçion que solia tener Montecuma." The town must have been the principal anchor of the Empire in this remote coast. 632 712 [101]

Xocotla, apparently, was a town three leagues from Tlapan[92] and should not be confused with the distant Yope-speaking town of the same name on the Río Papagayo. 632 131

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The people of Tlapan Province bore two principal names, though they may have been one group ethnologically and linguistically. Those of the north were called Tlapaneca and those of the south Yope. Sahagún identifies the two, remarking that "these Yopime and Tlapaneca are the people of the region of Yopitzinco; they are called Yope because their district is called Yopitzinco and they are also called Tlapaneca, which means Ochre Men, because they painted themselves red . . ."[93] It should be pointed out, however, that although the people of Tlapan and Malinaltepec and the northern towns are said to speak Tlapanec, those of Tototepec and Xochitonala and the south are called Yope-speakers,[94] as if Yope were another tongue. Whether or not the Yope are to be identified with the Tla- 101 197

[88] *PNE*, 4: 257: "Declaro ser maritimo el pueblo de Copalitas por estar dos leguas de la mar, y tener vn rrio cavdaloso y una alaguna [*sic*] de pesqueria." This river has been identified with the Río Copala by the writer, "A Western Extension of Zapotec: Further Remarks," *Tlalocan* (1944), 1: 360.

[89] *GPM*, p. 106.

[90] *PNE*, 1: No. 499.

[91] *PNE*, 1: No. 28.

[92] *GPM*, p. 98.

[93] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 133. *Tlapalli* means "red" in Nāhuatl.

[94] *GPM*, p. 27.

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panec, a good part of the Yope remained independent of the Mexicans until the arrival of the Spaniards and gave the Spaniards themselves much trouble.

These Tlapanec and/or Yope seem to be linked with distant groups to the south and north. The nearest kin of the Tlapanec language is that found in Nicaragua,[a] but certain customs of the Yope are identical with those of the Apache.[b]

The recent discovery by Ortega of several codices from the Tlapanec zone provides us with a potential source of information on this formerly almost unknown region.[c] Though the codices are still unexploited, they have already shown that the Tlapanec used a pre-Mexican[d] calendar system. There is less novelty in the observation that the god Xipe Totec came to the highland via the Yope. His temple, which stood where the western towers of the Cathedral of Mexico now stand, was called Yopico.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tlapan lay the province of Tialcoçauhtitlan, to the north that of Quiauhteopan, and to the northeast Yoaltepec—the borderlands of the Mixteca. Tlapan Province extended down to the Pacific Coast to the fortress of Tototepec (not to be confused with the Mixtec kingdom of Tototepec in adjacent Oaxaca). On both sides of this bastion war was continually being waged. The greater portion of the Yope roamed unconquered in Yopitzinco to the west; and to the east was a doubtful region of independent Mixtec peoples, with the other Tototepec of Oaxaca looming as a background power.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Ortega's startling discovery of the balance of the "Codex Humboldt I"[e] and its identification by Toscano

[a] On the Tlapanec language, see Radin, "The Tlapanec Language of Guerrero," *International Journal of American Linguistics* (1933), 8: 45–72, and Schultze Jena, *Indiana III* (1938).

[b] The only Yope ethnography surviving is in a document published by Federico Gómez de Orozco ("Costumbres, fiestas, enterramientos y diversas formas de proceder de los Indios de Nueva España," *Tlalocan* [1945], 2: 60–61).

[c] See Toscano, "Los codices tlapanecas de Azoyú," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 10, N° 4 (1943), pp. 127–136.

[d] That is, with the signs immediately anterior to the familiar Calli-Tochtli series as year-bearers.

[e] Published by Seler, Bulletin 28, Bureau of American Ethnology.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was Mixtec in speech, except for Cuicatec (extending eastward from Cuicatlan), Chinantec (north and east of Atlatlaucca), and, curiously enough, Chocho-Popoloca in the very heart of the province (Tamaçulapan to Coayxtlahuacan).

101 175 In Coayxtlahuacan Province centered the rich and complicated Mixtec culture, concerning which some detailed information has been preserved for us in such codices as the Nuttall and the Vindobonensis. Most extensive data on the pre-Hispanic history and ethnography of this region can be recovered from these manuscripts when they are fully studied. Many of the towns of this province were originally important city-states, with their own dynastic histories.

171 805 Among the notable cultural differences separating the peoples of this province from the Náhua, are such variant calendar systems as the Mixtec, studied by Jiménez Moreno,* and the Cuicatec, in the still inadequately investigated "Codex Fernández Leal."

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—At the height of the Empire of Moctezuma, Coayxtlahuacan had certain half-intimidated (though not actually subjected) zones to the north, the sprawling Empire province with its Oaxaca garrison to the east, the still resisting Mixtec city-states** to the south, and Tlaxiaco and other Mixtec towns, recently overrun, to the west.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was exploited for the following items:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of quilted mantles, richly decorated**
400 bundles of mantles, striped red and white**
400 bundles of black-and-white mantles**
400 bundles of loincloths**
[714] 400 bundles of women's blouses and skirts**
2 warriors' costumes together with shields*

* *Códice de Yanhuitlán.*

** Such as Puctla, Zacatepec, and others the relaciones of which appear in *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—At the time of the Spanish Conquest the predominant language of the province of Coyolapan was Zapotec, though the Zapoteca had lost their political power. Two other groups also inhabited the province.[128] If we draw a line from north to south through Malinaltepec, Etla, Huaxolotitlan, Oaxaca, and Teozapotlan, then west to Totomachapa and Xilotepec, we delineate the western limits of Zapotec. The region beyond this line is Mixtec. In the northern panhandle, the fringe of the area in which Chinantec was spoken was a little south of Coaxomulco (1).[129]

The advanced and dissimilar cultures of the Zapotec and Mixtec, especially in the frontier zone of Oaxaca City, have become known in recent years through the investigations of Dr. Alfonso Caso.[130]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Coyolapan was one of the far corners of the Empire. To the west and south it faced unfriendly Mixtec city-states, chiefly the huge realm dominated by Tototepec de Oaxaca. Eastward lay the Mixe and the "unprotected" Zapoteca. Both of these were uneasy frontiers. In the west and north, however, lay the strong Empire garrison of Coayxtlahuacan, in the province of the same name.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Coyolapan and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Triple Alliance:

CLOTHING**

400 bundles of richly worked mantles
800 bundles of large mantles

FOOD*

4 wooden cribs (2 of maize, 1 of beans, and 1 of chian)

OTHER GOODS*

20 gold disks, the size of an average plate and as thick as one's forefinger
20 bags of cochineal

[128] Chatino, the tongue of the Zenzontepec region, may be classified with Zapotec.

[129] García Granados, "Contribución para la geografía etnográfica y lingüística de Oaxaca," *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* (1934).

[130] In addition to various monographs, Dr. Caso has also written a good summary in his *Las culturas mixteca y zapoteca* (1939).

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632 Santa Isabel, west of the Villa de Guadalupe) and "Coatepetl" [? Santa Clara Coatitlan]. Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 283) places it between Chiquiuhtepec (Cerro del Chiquihuite) and Coatitlan. Huixachtitlan should not be confused with Huixachtepetl, now Cerro de la Estrella, in the south of the Valley.

Puputlan was an insular settlement situated on the highway which ran from Tenochtitlan to Tlacopan. It still exists, though not as a separate town; it has now been incorporated into the City of Mexico. Popotlan is noted chiefly for the ancient *ahuehuete* called "El árbol de la Noche Triste."

Xaltocan, curiously omitted from the 1937 "Valle de México" map, may be found on the map of the State of Mexico, in the 1941 *Libros y revistas* atlas.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—In the days of the Empire, Xaltocan was an Otomí center,[8] whereas Tlatelolco was Náhuatl-speaking. The southern tip of the province (Chalco-Atenco) extended into another Náhuatl-speaking zone—that of the Chalca tribe.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—This northern lake region faced the
131 remnants of the Chichimec Empire on the east (the province of Acolhuacan). To the north and west lay those of the later Tepanec Empire, centering in the provinces of Quauhtitlan and Quahuacan. Southwest lay the mainland province of Petlacalco, between the mountains and the lakes, down to the pass which leads into Morelos State today, around Amecameca.

TRIBUTE OF TLATELOLCO

651 Owing to the fragmentary condition of our evidence (a group of disordered glyphs in the *Mendocino* copy without a *Matrícula* original by which to check), it is not possible to say anything regarding the tribute of the Çitlaltepec zone—unless, by chance, it may have been included in the reckoning for Tlatelolco, given below.

For Tlatelolco the evidence is confusing; nevertheless, the writer ventures to present an outline of Tlatelolco's tribute, defended elsewhere.[9]

[8] Carrasco's thesis on the Otomí (in press) details its history.

[9] Barlow, "Tlatelolco como tributario de la Triple Alianza," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia* (1945), 4: 208-213.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The northern part of this province was the heart of the Tepanec zone. The Tepanec tribe is assumed—with little proof—to have been Náhuatl-speaking. To the south were two other conquered tribes of better-known affiliation, the Chalca and Xochimilca, mutually related.

Provincial borders in 1519.—South of Petlacalco lay the sterile lava flows which separated it from the province of Chalco (Chalco-Tlalmanalco, not Chalco-Atenco), a province curving down through the mountain passes to Tepoztlan. To the west was the province of Quahuacan, and to the north Quauhtitlan, both at one time Tepanec strongholds. Eastward lay the lake provinces of Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco.

Regional names.—At least the zone around Petlacalco itself belonged to the former Tepanecapan—the Tepanec area subject (until 1428) to Azcapotzalco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The following materials were collected by the tribute gatherers to Petlacalco:

CLOTHING*

65 warriors' costumes with shields
2,400 loads of mantles of "twisted" cloth
800 loads of colored mantles
400 loads of loincloths
400 loads of women's clothing

FOOD*

1 bin of beans
1 bin of chian
2 bins of huauhtli

[p. 134 is blank]

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Maya NU4

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It is not surprising therefore if, of the earliest traces which are met with concerning such Aborigines as spoke the "good sound"

ficient for my purpose to establish its identity, in system, with the others. The Nicaraguan days are corruptions of the Mexican names, the "Niquiran" being a "Nahuatl" dialect.

Taking now the four remaining groups, we place opposite to each word its translation or interpretation so far as I can trace it, which is of course not always possible.

Mexican.	*QQuiché.*	*Maya.*	*Chiapaneco.*
Cipactli, *Marine monster.*	Imox. *Swordfish.*	Ymix. *Dragon.*	Imox.
Ehecatl, *Wind.*	Iz. *Breath.*	Yk, *Breath or wind.*	Igh.
Calli, *House.*	*Akbal, chaos* (?).	Akbal, (See below).	*Votan.*
Cuetzpalin, *Lizard.*	Cat, *Lizard.*	*Kan, Snake.*	Chanan, *Snake.*
Cohuatl, *Snake.*	Can. *Snake.*	Chicchan.	Abah, *Stone* (?).
Miquiztli, *Skull.*	Camey. *Death.*	Quimil, *Death.*	Tox.
Mazatl, *Deer.*	Quich. *Deer.*	Manik, (See below).	Moxic.
Tochtli, *Rabbit.*	Ganel. *Rabbit.*	Lamat.	*Lambat.*
Atl, *Water.*	Toh. *Shower.*	*Mulue.*	Molo.
Itzcuintli, *Dog.*	Tzy. *Dog.*	Oc.	Elab.
Ozomatli, *Monkey.*	Batz. *Monkey.*	Chuen. (See below).	Batz. *Monkey* (?).
Malinalli. *Knot or twist*	Ci, *Broom*	Eb, *Staircase.*	Eoob.
Acatl, *Cane.*	Ah, *Cane.*	Been.	*Been.*
Ocelotl, *Wild cat or tiger.*	Itz, *Wizard.*	Giz, *Wizard.*	Hix.
Quauhtli. *Eagle.*	Tziquin. *Bird.*	Men. *Builder* (?).	Tzibin.
Cozcaquauhtli, *Vulture.*	Ahmak, *Owl.*	Quib. *Gum or wax.*	Chabin.
	Noh, *Temperature.*	Caban.	Chic
	Tihax. *Obsidian.*	Edznab.	*Chimax.*
Ollin, *Motion.*	Caok. *Rain.*	Cauac.	Cahogh.
Tecpatl, *Hint.*	Hunahpu, *Shooter out of a tube.*	Ajau, *Chief.*	Aghual.
Quiahuitl. *Rain.*			
Xochitl, *flower.*			

For the interpretation, as above attempted, I have consulted the following very limited number of authors:—*Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Relation des choses de Yucatan, etc.*" "*Popol-Vuh,*" "*Grammaire Quiché,*" "*Ruines de Palenqué.*") *H. H. Bancroft,* (Vol. II and III). *Orozco y Berra,* ("*Geografia de las Lenguas.*") and other sources. Mr. Bancroft translates the QQuiché "akbal" by *chaos.* I would suggest "*household,*" basing upon the following note of Mr. Brasseur: ("*Chronologia antigua de Yucatan, etc.,*" por *Don Juan Pio Perez* in "Choses de Yucatan," p. 375). "*Akbal,* mot vieilli qu' on retrouve dans la langue Quiché avec le sens de marmite, vase, peut être le même que le mot *con* ou *comitl* des Mexicains." Sr. Perez says about the word: "desconocido: tambien se halla entre los dias chiapanecas, escrito *Aghual,*" (p. 374). In this the learned Yucatan is mistaken, for Aghual corresponds to the Maya and QQuiché "Ajau" or "Ahau." Now the pot or rather kettle, was distinctly connected with the housewife, and the word "Akbal" being, as the Abbé tells us, out of use, the suggestion that it may have been used to indicate something like the Mexican "Calli"—house,—is at least permitted.

I have deliberately translated "Kan" by snake, instead of by "cord of hennequen" as Pio-Perez has it (p. 372). Compare note 1 by the Abbé.

Manik is interpreted by Pio-Perez as follows: "es perdida su verladera acepcion; pero si se divide la espresion man-ik viento que pasa, quizá se entenderia lo que fué." If this is accepted, then the signification might be: "fleetness," "swiftness," or "rapidity,"—some of the attributes of the *deer,* which is the corresponding sign in both the Mexican and QQuiché.

Chuen, for the reasons indicated by Brasseur (note 3, p. 372 of "*Chronologia, etc.,*") should be "monkey," as well as in the three other idioms.

In regard to "Gix" *Sr. Orozco y Berra* (Part II, V, p. 103), copies the three interpretations of Don Pio-Perez, one of which amounts to "the act of plundering or rob-

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or "Nahuatl" language in Mexico, we gather the information that they started off in bands constituting "lineages" or kins. This

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bing a tree." Might there be any vague connection between this and the Mexican "Ocelotl" or beast of prey?

The word "Cauac" is mentioned as "desconocido" or disused. Still the analogy in sound with the QQuiché "Caok" rain, is striking, as well as with the Tzendal "Cahogh" and finally also with the Mexican "Quiahuitl."

In regard to the calendar of Chiapas, I regret to say that the material at my command is by far too limited to venture much of an interpretation. Not one of the few Tzendal vocabularies or Grammars yet existing is within my reach. Still I must note here: "Chan" in Tzendal signifies *Snake*, therefore my translation of "Chanan." *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Recherches sur les Ruines de Palenqué*," Cap. II, p. 32, notes 4 and 5).

"Abah" probably *Stone* ("*Palenqué*," p. 65, note 5).

"Batz" as *monkey*, is identified with the three other signs of the same day by *Brasseur* ("*Popol-Vuh*," introd. p. CXXXV, note 5, Part II, cap. I, p. 69, note 4).

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Furthermore, the signs Imox, Igh, Hix, and Cahogh are, in sound at least, analogous, if not identical, with the corresponding signs of the QQuiché and Maya calendars, and the signs Lambat, Molo, Been, and Aghual, are nearly alike to those of the same days of the Maya alone, whereas, Tzibin reminds of the Tziquin in QQuiché.

Taking now the Mexican calendar as a basis, we cannot fail to notice:

(1). That fifteen of its signs are identical with those of the QQuiché.

(2). Three are absolutely identical with signs of the Maya, and five more are presumably identical also.

(3). Two are identical with signs of the Tzendal, and two more presumably so.

Therefore our assumption appears justified, that:—

(1). The Mexican and QQuiché names of the days have a common origin.

(2). That the same is likely in regard to the Maya, since the Maya and QQuiché are regarded as belonging, linguistically, to the same stock.

(3). That a presumption in favor of a similar relation towards the Tzendal of Chiapas may be admitted since, besides the four signs recognized as common to both calendars, there are at least eight more which, in sound, are identical with others of the Maya and QQuiché.

I feel authorized, consequently, to conclude:—

(1). That the names of the days given by the four linguistical clusters above stated, were probably, originally identical.

(2). That these names, therefore, *had a common origin*.

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This origin is stated as follows:—

Mendieta (Lib. IV, cap. XLI, p. 437), "and these Indians affirmed, that in ancient times there came to this land twenty men, and the chief of them was called Cacalcan, ... This writes the bishop of Chiapas. . . ." This bishop of Chiapas was *Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas*, who, in the MSS., "*Historia apologética de Indias*" (Vol. III, cap. 134), appears to be more detailed. I quote Las Casas from *Brasseur* and from *H. H. Bancroft*, (Vol. 3, p. 465), where he says (Cap. 123),—the MS. itself not being accessible to me. Now it is commonly admitted, and this admission (whether correct or not) is so general, that no quotations are needed in evidence, that Cacalcan or Cocolcan is identical with the Mexican Quetzalcohuatl. To Quetzalcohuatl, however, is attributed the formation of the *Mexican Calendar*. (*Torquemada*, Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 34. *Mendieta*, Lib. II, cap. XIV, pp. 97, 98.)

In regard to the origin of the Tzendal Calendar, the tradition is very clear. *Beltrán* ("*Idioma, etc.*," § XVI, pp. 115 to 121). Quoting *Núñez de la Vega* (32, § XXVIII of the "*Constitucion Diocesana*") "y prosigue el Prelado diciendo, que *al que llamaban Coxlahuntox (que es el Demonio, segun los Indios dicen, con trece potestades) le tienen pintado en Bilin, y con hastas en la cabeza como de carnero*, quando dicho Coxlahuntox se ha de corregir en Ymox, ó Mox, y no está puesto en el Kalendario por Demonio,

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was the case with the so-called "Toltecs,"[30] and with all their successors, such as the "Tezcucans," "Tecpanecans," and others, *including the ancient Mexicans.*[31]

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aino por cabeza de los veinte Señores, Symbolos de los dias de el Año, y assi viene á ser el primer Symbolo de ellos." (See also Idem, pp. 118, 119, quoting Nuñez de la Vega, 33, 34, and 35). "concuerda el Systema de los Kalendarios de Chiàppa, y Soconûsco con el Tultéco, ... pues en lugar de los quatro Caractéres Técpatl, Calli, Tóchtli, Acatl, se sirven los de Chiàppa de quatro Figuras de Señores, Votan, Lambat, Bèen, y Chinax, etc., etc."

Clavigero (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 164). "The Chiapanecs, if we can place any reliance upon their traditions, were the first settlers of the New World. They claim that Votan, the grandson of the venerable old man who built the great ark in order to save himself and his family during the deluge, and who was one of those who erected the high building that reached into the clouds, set out by special command of God, to people the country." Adopted and quoted also by Señor Don *Francisco Pimentel*, ("*Cuadro Descriptico y Comparativo de las Lenguas Indigénas de México*," 1865, Vol. II, p. 233.) *Clavigero* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIX, p. 412, Vol. I) "The Chiapanecs . . . . . instead of the figures and names of the rabbit, cane, flint, and house, used the names Votan, Lambat, Been, and Chinax, and instead of the Mexican names of the days, they adopted those of twenty celebrated men of their ancestry, among which the four names above mentioned took the same place as among the Mexicans the Rabbit and the others." Compare also, in the appendix to the same volume, p. 633, the "*Letter of the Abbé Don Lorenzo Hervas*," Cesena, 31 July, 1780. *Clavigero* (Vol. II, "Dissertations, etc.," Cap. II, p. 281). After recalling the tradition of Votan, quoting from Nuñez de la Vega, he adds in note b, "Votan is the name of the leader of the 20 celebrated men, after which the 20 days of the month of the Chiapanecs are named."

These statements, which rest upon the writings of Nuñez de la Vega and of Ordonnez y Aguiar, are adopted, among later writers, by:—

Brasseur de Bourbourg ("*Popol-Vuh*," Introduction, § V, p. LXXII. "*Chronologia*," in "*Relation des choses du Yucatan*," p. 374, note 4).

The identity of the twenty days of the Chiapanecan months with the names of twenty leaders of as many kins, is very likely, therefore; and since we have found the close resemblance of the Chiapanecan Calendar with that of the Yucatecan Maya, it is not unreasonable to suggest: that the names of the Maya days originally denoted the same twenty kins also. If such is the case (as the tale of Cuculcan and of his nineteen followers also seems to indicate), then the twenty signs of the QQuiché have a similar origin and finally, the actual identity of the QQuiché Calendar with the Mexican or Nahuatl proper leads to the inference that the twenty names of days of the Tzendal, Maya, and Nahuatl groups of sedentary Indians in Mexico and Central America, indicate *a common origin of these three clusters, from twenty kins or clans, or gentes*, at a remote period.

Within these twenty kins there appear *four* more prominent than the other. This again may indicate a *still older* derivation from *four*, out of which the remaining sixteen sprang through segmentation. How such segmentation may occur is plainly stated in the "*Popol-Vuh*," and has been fully referred to by me in "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 391, *ibi*, note 7), to which, in addition to the Indian authority, and to Mr. Morgan's "*Ancient Society*" (Part II, Chapter IV), I beg leave to direct the "curious reader." In regard to the actually prevailing division of Indian settlements into four quarters, it is asserted by *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Popol-Vuh*," Introduction, p. 117), "Enfin, presque toutes les villes ou tribus sont partagées en quatre clans ou quartiers, dont les chefs forment le grand conseil."

I give the above as mere suggestions, begging for their acceptance in a kindly way, since they are not intended to be thrust upon the reader as "results." But I cannot resist the temptation to submit some remarks here, on other peculiarities exhibited

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their first appearance in the northern sections of the former republic of Mexico, as a cluster of seven kins, united by the bond of common language and worship.[32] The names of these seven kins are distinctly stated and it is not devoid of interest to notice that some of these names were perpetuated as late as 1690 among the numerous "Indian wards" of the present City of Mexico.[33] We may as well add here, that these

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central west might not perhaps show a closer connection yet between the very ancient Mexican kins as denoted by their days, and the gentes composing their own tribes.

After these speculations, which I submit for what they may be worth, and with the distinct reserve that I do not attach any value to them save as hints and queries for further investigation, I beg leave to state, that in my fourth paper "On the Creed and Belief of the Ancient Mexicans," I intend to discuss all these points with more thoroughness, and, I hope, with the aid of more suitable material than that now at my command.

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[30] *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Relaciones historicas*" "*Segunda Relacion*," Kingsborough, Vol. IX, p. 323) "y casi el ultimo de estos años se juntaron dos cabezas principales y los otros cinco inferiores á tratar si se quedarian en esta tierra ó si pasarian mas adelante." Also "*Noticias de los Pobladores y Naciones de esta Parte de America llamada Nueva-España*" ("*Tercera Relacion de los Tultecas*," Kingsborough, IX, p. 303), "Estos siete caudillos . . . . . con todas sus gentes vinièron descubriendo y poblando por todas las partes que llegaban." ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. I, p. 13), "Ils avaient sept chefs, et choisissaient alternativement un d'entr'eux pour les gouverner." In addition to authorities quoted on the Toltecs in "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 388, note 7, to p. 392). I refer to *Vetancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Vol I, Part II, Trat. I. Cap. IV, p. 234). *Granados y Galvez* (2a Tarde, p. 31).

[31] "*Tardes Americanas*" (p. 31), "bien es que los mapas de estos no nos pintan tierras, sino familias: y como estos vaguearon sin fixeza alguna por tan varios rumbos. . . . . ." It is superfluous to quote authorities in full. I but refer to "*Histoire des Chichimèques*" (Cap. V, pp. 38, 39; X, p. 70). *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XXIX). The whole chapter is very important. *Durán* (Cap. II, pp. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, III; pp. 19, 20, 21, and plates I, to Trat. I°, also pl. I, to Trat. II°). *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 454, and cap. III entire). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 147). *Torquemada* (Lib. I, cap. XXIII, p. 51; cap. XXVI, p. 54; Lib. II, cap. I, p. 78, etc.). *García* ("*Origen*, etc.," Lib. III, cap. I, p. 81; Lib. V, cap. III, p. 321). *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. II. cap. X, pp. 59, 60). *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. VI, p. 39 of 2d Vol.). *Vetancurt* (Vol. I, "*Teatro*," Parte II, Trat. I, cap. IX, pp. 254, 255). *Clavigero* (Lib. II, cap. IV, pp. 146, 147), and others.

[32] The number *seven* (7) is almost generally accepted. Compare "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 399, and note 21). Besides the authors there mentioned as accepting seven kins, I refer to *Dr. Ad. Bastian* ("*Die Culturlaender des Alten Amerika*," Vol. II, p. 400, note 2). *Cabrera* (in *Mauotoll's Palenqué*, p. 77. Rather confused).

[33] I have gathered these names out of the following sources: *Durán* (Cap. III, pp. 20, 21), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. I, p. 6, Kingsborough, Vol. IX), *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 91 of 2d Vol.). They are stated as follows:—

By Durán.	*By Tezozomoc.*	*By Veytia.*
Yopica.	Yapica.	Yopica.
Tlacochcalca.	Tlacochcalca.	Tlacochcalca.
Vitznagoa.	Huitznahuac.	Huitznahuac.
Cuatecpan.	Cihuatecpaneca.	Cihuatecpaneca.
Chalmeca.	Chalmeca.	Chalmeca.
Tlacatecpaneca.	Tlacatecpaneca.	Tlacatecpaneca.
Yzquiteca.	Yzquiteca.	Itzcuintecatl.